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SPEECH OF MR. RAYNER,

(OF HERTFORD,)

Delivered in the House of Commons of North Carolina, December 14, 1838, on the Resolutions of Instruction to our Senators in Congress.

Concluded.

But sir, the paramount and greatest objection to this system, is, that it requires gold and silver to be paid by all debtors of the government in payment of the public dues. Now, sir, if I were disposed to compromise my opinions for the purpose of settling this matter, yet while the specie clause is retained and insisted upon, I never could consent even to entertain the proposition. It is contrary to all former usage, and will unsettle and disarrange the whole business transactions of society. There is only so much specie in the world: this, of itself, disconnected with the system of credit which is based upon it, is not sufficient by two-thirds, to perform the commercial business of the world. This specie, according to principles as certain and unerring in their nature, as those laws of physics which cause water to seek a level, or a stone to gravitate to the earth, will diffuse itself throughout all commercial countries in due proportion to their relative business and their weight in the scale of commerce. And whenever you draw an undue proportion of the precious metals from one country to another, more than is required by the commercial relations existing between them, reaction will as certainly follow, as effect follows cause, and commercial embarrassment is the inevitable result; for the republic of commerce, like that of letters, is one and indivisible. It makes no difference that countries may be separated by rolling oceans or cloud capt mountains, if they belong to the great commercial family of nations their interests are as much identified in relation to commerce, and as likely to be affected, one by a derangement of the currency of another, as if the whole commercial world was consolidated into one vast empire. Sir, you might as well attempt to de-troy the influence of the glorious literature of England, as of her commercial regulations; you might as well attempt to destroy the power which is exercised over the public mind in this country by the burning pages of Scott, Byron, and Bulwer, as to avoid the impulses which are given to commerce from that great focus of the commercial world.

Taking it for granted, then, that we cannot abstract from other nations more than our proportionate share of the precious metals without disturbing the known laws of commerce, let us see what is our condition.

It is, I believe, generally admitted by the most skilful financiers in our country, that all the specie in the country does not fall short of 60, nor exceed 80 millions of dollars—while we employ about 350 millions of capital to do our business. Well, now, suppose that the establishment of this system, as contended for by its great progenitor T. H Benton—for I insist, that he is "its author, its projector," and would, no doubt, wish to be its "final executor," but that he has in a measure been supplanted by another—suppose, I say, it should ultimately succeed in banishing all paper from circulation—must not the price of every article fall in the ratio of 350 to 80—and would not bankruptcy, wretchedness and ruin follow in its train? Even admitting the scheme were practicable, and that that result would be beneficial to posterity does any one believe that the present generation ought to make so great a sacrifice for that which is to come? But admitting, on the other hand, as contended by others of its friends, that its object is not to destroy all paper, and will not be the result, still the abstraction of at least 30 millions of specie from the business capital of the country will be the consequence, and a shock to credit and a revulsion in trade will necessarily follow, which will agitate this nation from its centre to its circumference. Perhaps gentlemen will deny that it will abstract that amount of specie from the business of the country. Well, now, sir, has this administration shown any disposition to curtail the expenses of the government? Do they not continue their wasteful and extravagant expenditures of the public money, although your treasury is bankrupt? And I insist, that all the money that is required for the expenses of the government, when under the control and management of a party known to be hostile to the whole credit system, will be of too uncertain and fluctuating a character to constitute a basis for any permanent banking transactions. It will be "here to-day, and gone to-morrow." It can be transferred at any moment from one place to another, whenever the Secretray in his great wisdom may think the public interest requires it. And if checks drawn upon the depositaries should ultimately become the medium of payment to the public creditors, (and it is reasonable to suppose that in most cases they would prefer those checks,) and thus enter into the channels of circulation, millions of the gold and silver of the country will then accumulate in the hands of the public officers, and that represented only dollar for dollar by these government drafts.

Again, sir, I believe the tendency of this specie provision will be to the destruction of all the local banks of our country. One good ground for this belief is, that it had its origin in a feeling antagonistical to the banks. If it goes into operation now, it will be under the administration of men who are known to be hostile to, and who will consequently administer it to the annoyance and destruction of the banking system. The tendency of the specie to accumulate in the hands of the depositaries, will keep up a constant drain upon the vaults of the local banks, which will cripple their operations, and keep them in a state of constant dread and alarm; for they would not know at what moment they might be called upon to disgorge every dollar in their vaults, in order to enable them to meet any great excess of revenue liable to be produced by the fluctuations of trade. And again—refusal to receive their notes by the government, will stamp discredit on their very faces; it will alarm the ignorant and the timid, and, at every temporary fluctuation in trade or business, their notes would pour in upon them. Now, sir, I am not to be understood as standing up here as the especial advocate of banks. I know it is fashionable, in a certain quarter, to denounce every man as a bank-bribed aristocrat, who dares to utter a word in defence of these valuable institutions. It is a matter of but little moment to me, if my name *should* be associated with the distinguished patriots of the country, in being denounced as bank-bought, or as an aristocrat. I suppose I should rather consider it as a compliment. I will remark, however, that so far from my being interested in banks, except as a member of the community at large, I know perhaps less about the *details* of banking transactions, than of any other political question to which I have ever turned my attention. My opinions, in regard to them, are drawn from general principles, and from disinterested observation.

I look upon the abuses of banking, as one of the necessary and indispensable evils of free government; especially when unworthy men are trusted with the reins of power. We cannot expect to arrive at perfection in the arrangement of any system; 'tis contrary to the dispensations of an all-wise Providence, that man should reach perfection while in this state of probation. Ever since our first parents were driven from the bowers of Eden, under the unalterable decree—"Cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life,"—man has had his happiness alloyed with pain, and seen all his vain efforts fall far short of their design.

Because the banking system has been abused, because its excesses have caused a temporary derangement, it is no reason why we should denounce it as altogether pernicious, and discard it from our confidence entirely. There is not one of the blessings with which Providence has gifted us, that may not, by improper use, be converted to our destruction. The fire which prepares our food and ministers to our comfort, when in the hands of the incendiary may be employed in laying our dwellings in ruins and demolishing the works of ages. The very clouds of heaven, whose showers purify the atmosphere and fertilize our fields, when lashed into tempest, lay low in a moment the structures of the artist and the labors of husbandman, scattering ruin and desolation in their train. Besides, there are associations connected with the history of the banking system, which identify it with the very name of liberty. Look at the origin of banks. Do you find them first springing up in a land of despotism, or a land of freedom? The Bank of Venice, established in 1171, that of Genoa, in 1345, and that of Amsterdam, in 1609, were the three first banks known to the commercial world; and let it never be forgotten, that they were not only established in free governments, but that it was in an age of despotism, and when the glimmerings of freedom had just begun to dawn. These banks were the legitimate offspring of commerce, for every one at all acquainted with history, knows that those enterprising cities were engaged in commerce, while the surrounding world was locked up in the chains of the feudal system. Look at England, that country from whom we obtained our earliest ideas of liberty, enjoying a degree of freedom unknown to the rest of Europe, her arts and her arms the admiration of the world, her literature, brightening, by its perusal, the face of genius in every clime where civilization has dawned, her navies covering every ocean, her manufactures clothing every people, "from Greenland's icy mountain, to India's coral strand." In that country, the banking system has found especial favor, and has been used as one of the main agents of her greatness and glory. The Bank of England was chartered in 1694, only six years after the celebrated revolution of '88, which placed on a firm basis the rights of the citizen, and fixed definite and prescribed limits to the prerogative of the crown, at a period when the minds of the English people were peculiarly sensitive in regard to a violation of their rights. The charter of that institution has since received seven successive renewals; and so apparent has been its utility to the great body of the nation, that it has never assumed a party character, in all the violent struggles for power between the great rival parues in that country.

Look, on the other hand, to those countries where there are no banks, and where gold and silver is the only currency. Look to Spain, once the mistress of the mines of Peru—degradation and misery is the characteristic of her people. The Chastilian blood of her ancient chivalry flows dull and sluggish through the veins of their degenerate posterity, whom all the efforts and improvement of the age cannot rouse into action. Look to Italy; all the associations of her former glory cannot awaken her from the slumber of ages; penury and want, wretchedness and hunger, stalk amid the ruins of the Coliseum, and banditti plot their infernal schemes where, once, "a Roman Senate sat."

Look to the South American states, the very countries in whose mountains lie embedded the precious metals, whose exclusive use certain politicians believe to be a panacea for all the "ills that" government "is heir to," and what do you witness calculated to rejoice the heart of the philanthropist? Anarchy and revolution, violence and priestcraft, are the leading incidents in their history. With all their gold and silver currency, and with the bright example we have set before them, they seem destined to slumber in obscurity, and only to be aroused at intervals by the earthquake sounds of violence and commotion.

Begging pardon of the house for pursuing this idea so far, I will return more directly to the subject. I will take it for granted, that with the destruction of banks will necessarily come the destruction of credit. This, I think, is easy of demonstration. In the first place, credit—that is, credit in the general sense in which it is understood, in this country—is unknown in those countries in which banks do not exist; and even in our own country, those sections in which credit is most easy to be obtained, are also most remarkable for the quantity of capital invested in banking, as well as for their industury and enterprize. In fact, bank noies are nothing but the representatives of credit; and a bank is nothing more than a market where credit is sold. In the second place, that portion of the community who avow their preference for the abolition of all credit, and who are so loud in their denunciations of the mercantile class—the very soul of whose existence is credit—are the same who are most conspicuous in their opposition to what they term the monopolies and exclusive privileges of the banks. It is the same spirit which excites opposition to both, and which would destroy with the banks all credit and confidence in the various transactions between man and man.

Destroy credit, and you deprive enterprize of its main stimulus, and indigent merit of its only heritage. Destroy credit, and, to use a remark of an eloquent Senator, "capital is hoarded and labour starves." Without credit, what would be the situation of the poor but meritorious young man, who enters upon the great theatre of life friendless, parentless and moneyless? He must languish in obscurity forever, struggling, but in vain, against the resistless tide of fortune. Destroy credit, and many a young man who might, with the advantages of credit, be able to wing his way with an eagle's flight to the highest pinnacle in the temple of fame, would have to pass his days in toiling for the physical necessaries of life, and at last go down to the grave "forgotten and unknown." Destroy credit, and what must be the situation of that man, who, from affluence to-day, is, by the caprice of fortune, to-morrow reduced to want? He must see the wife of his bosom deluged in tears, and his famishing children crying for bread; and all he can do, will be to look on in sorrow and gnash his teeth in anguish. But, by the blessings of credit, the youth in poverty, and the husband or father in misfortune, if he has character and merit, can easily obtain not only a supply for his present wants, but also a means for future enterprize. But while advocating a well-regulated system of banking, I am not to be understood as defending that wild and extravagant system which has been brought upon us by the rash and wicked measures of this and the preceding administrations. In their zeal to destroy the Bank of the United States, and to enable the country to dispense with its agency, they have deluged the country with what they now denominate "bank rags," and have converted into a curse that which, under a wise policy, would have operated as a blessing. Banks can only prove beneficial so long as they are restrained within proper limits as to their number, so long as their issues are restricted to the wants and business of the community, and so long as they are held to a strict accountability for a violation of their chartered privileges. I admit the banking system has been abused; that it has been pushed to a ruinous extent, which has threatened to destroy, not only the prosperity, but the commercial credit of the country. And who have done this? Who have been in power while this state of things has been carrying on? Why, the very men, as I have attempted to show, who are now so vociferous in their denunciation of all banks.

Although the abuses of banking have brought incalculable evils upon the country, still they have taught us a lesson, from which we may profit for the future. It has opened the eyes of the people to the hypocrisy of those in power, and convinced them there is no confidence to be placed in their professions. It has taught us there is a limit in the banking system, beyond which we cannot go with safety, and has afforded us experience, by which we may be enabled to avoid for the future the rocks and shoals on which we have been so nearly wrecked.

Another objection, sir, to the specie feature is this: It makes an odious discrimination between the government and the people. The government belongs to the people, and it should use, in the administration of its functions, the same medium of currency as that used by the people. Requiring specie in all dues to the general government, while the state governments receive paper, and the people use it in all their various transactions, is calculated to give the general government an alien character. You thus weaken the bonds of that Union, which I look upon not only as the palladium of our civil liberties, but as the bulwark of our national defence. And, sir, I admonish those who administer the general government to beware how they abuse further the patience of this people. Let them send out their tax-gatherers to collect all the specie in circulation, and to annoy and circumscribe the operations of our state banks, and my word for it, the value of the Union will not only be calculated, but set at naught. You will have again to resort to your proclamations and your bills of blood; you will have to call again upon the myrmidons of federal power to enforce your system at the bayonet's point. Think you, sir, the people of this country will ever consent that the office holders—men who, by their habits, their employment, and their associations, have no sympathy in common with the great mass of the community—think you, I say, that the people will suffer these men to receive the reward of their prostitution and devotion to power in gold and silver, while they, themselves, have to use bank paper? No, sir, never! They never will consent to purchase the benefits of this union at the price of liberty, and at the sacrifice of their dearest rights and interest.

Now if gentlemen are really conscientious in their support of the specie feature of the sub-treasury, why not carry the system fully out? If it is proper for the general government, it is also proper for the state governments. Why then do they not introduce a bill, requiring the sheriffs of the different counties, or officers to be appointed for the purpose, to receive nothing in payment of taxes but gold or silver, dispensing altogether with the agency of banks, and requiring the collecting officers to keep in their own hands the money when collected, and to pay it out to the public creditors upon the warrant of the treasurer? Appropriating at the same time, a sufficient sum to purchase iron safes, vaults, &c. in which the collecting officers are to keep the public money; and authorizing the treasurer to transfer any amount of the funds of the state from one point to another, "at his discretion, whenever the public service shall seem to him to require it." I say, if the friends of the administration believe such a scheme practicable for the general government, why not propose a similar one for our own state? Because they know they dare not. Because they know the people of this state would then have practical experience of the workings of the system; and they know further, that it would be greeted with indignation "long and loud" from Currituck to Macon.

Gentlemen talk of a divorce; but, sir, pass this sub-treasury bill, and you will have effected a divorce with a vengeance. You will have divorced the affections of this people from the government of the Union. And this, sir, is no time to encourage a feeling of disaffection to the Union, a feeling which unfortunately, I fear, is beginning to pervade every section of our country, and every department of society. Yes, sir, it is enough to make the heart of the patriot bleed, to see with what coolness the dismemberment of these states is contemplated. But a few years since, the very name of disunion was reprobated with abhorrence; now, it is as familiar as household words. And what is the cause of this? Are men less patriotic now than they were then? Do they less appreciate the value of this Union? No, sir, it is because the government is administered with an utter disregard to the people's interest, and solely with a view to the preservation of power. And carry out this system, and you will give to your federal government the character of a cruel task master, who will rule you with a rod of iron, and chastise you with a whip of scorpions. Gentlemen tell us that, in the destruction of the United States Bank, they strangled a monster; but in establishing this system, you rear up a monster of still more hideous mien, which will extend his Briarean arms into every village and hamlet in your country, to grasp every dollar of gold and silver in circulation, which, once having clutched, he will hold with the gripe of Shylock. The effect of your boasted divorce will be to establish a still more adulterous marriage between money and power, the offspring of which will be a fiend, whose appetite nothing can satiate but the blood of your people.

But gentlemen say they *must* have a divorce between the government and the banks. And, sir, why? Is not the government the property of the people, established by their own consent, and for the purpose of preserving their rights and promoting their interests? It is the creature of their choice; not imposed upon them by foreign power, but assumed by their own free will and consent. Well, what are the banks? Were they imposed upon us, contrary to our consent? Are they exclusive privileges, unwarranted by our free institutions? Sir, the representatives of the people have ever thought otherwise; it is they that established them, and they that continue to sustain them. Here then, are two great agencies; the federal government established for certain great purposes, and the banks of the country, established for the purpose of aiding the wants of trade and the convenience of commerce. Now, sir, if one of those great agencies can the better perform its functions by employing the aid of the other, where is the objection? Why insist upon a divorce, unless the connection has been an unhappy one, or in some way productive of evil results? That the connection was an unhappy one, so far as relates to the agency of the late Bank of the United States in keeping and disbursing the public money, cannot be asserted. For of the many hundred millions entrusted to the fiscal management of that institution, not one dollar was ever lost to the government; while, at the same time, its transfers were always made with certainty and despatch. While, on the other hand, the bank, owing, among other causes, to the increased credit which it obtained from its connection with the government, furnished a currency unequalled for soundness or uniformity, and regulated the exchanges upon the most admirable footing, and brought them down to the lowest possible cost at which funds can be transmitted from one section of the Union to another. So we see that the connection had a happy influence, first upon the people by the improvement effected in the currency and exchanges, and secondly upon the government, in the security and disbursement of the public funds. True, sir, the connection between the government and the pet banks was an unhappy one; and well it might be, for it was not a lawful connection, but a vile prostitution of themselves on the part of the latter for "filthy lucre." But let it be recollected, that the authors of that connection were the same men who are now attempting to consummate their financial tinkering by fastening upon their country this sub-treasury system.

But, say they, it is not a sub-treasury—it is an independent treasury we want. An independent treasury! Do gentlemen expect to hoodwink us in this way? Do they expect this "Ethiopian to change his skin," by their calling him another name! The obstinacy with which they cling to this name, as though they expected thereby to hide its deformities, reminds me of a passage in Paul Clifford, where the cunning Augustus Tomlinson is represented as persuading the youthful Clifford to take to the character of highwayman. "I own to you frankly," said Paul, "that somehow or other I have doubts whether thieving be really the honestest profession I could follow." "Listen to me, Paul," answered Augustus: "all crime and all excellence depend upon a good choice of words. If you take money from the public, and say you have robbed, you have indubitably committed a great crime; but if you do the same, and say you have *been relieving the necessities of the poor*, you have done an excellent action. If in afterwards dividing this money with your companions, you say you have been sharing booty, you have committed an offence against the laws of your country; but if you observe that *you have been sharing with your friends the gains of your industry*, you have been performing one of the noblest actions of humanity. * * * We are never rogues, so long as we call ourselves honest fellows; and we never commit a crime, so long as we call it a virtue." And so the advocates of the sub-treasury seem to think. Call it a sub-treasury, and its real character will be exposed—a treasury *under* the control of the President and his Secretaries. But call it an independent treasury, and it immediately becomes "a great measure of deliverance and liberty!" Judging, however, from the "signs of the times," the people of this country do not seem as likely to be swayed by such logic as was the plastic mind of young Clifford; for the former seem to understand its duplicity with as much facility as was the latter captivated by it. An independent treasury! I fear, sir, that if this project succeeds, that in attempting to make the government independent of the banks, you will make it independent of the people. In the arrangement of a fiscal system, it is the people's interest that requires your special consideration; whereas the main object of this sub-treasury seems to be, to provide for those who administer the government. Why, the government does not so much require your fostering aid; it is the natural tendency of power to take care of itself; it needs the curb rather than the spur, and despite all the restrictions that may be thrown around it, is continually grasping for more authority, that it may transfer it "from the many to the few." If, then, it is the tendency of government to take care of itself, there is the greater necessity for uniting its destinies with those of the people, so that, in providing for and promoting its own interests, you necessarily compel it at the same time to take care of the people. And by compelling it to use the same medium of payment as that used by the people, you induce it to lend aid and protection to the state institutions; for then it cannot throw discredit upon them, without at the same time affecting its own interests.

I did intend, sir, to have attempted to show that the object was, and the inevitable result of this system, if carried into operation, would be, a great government bank, under the management and control of the Executive, possessing all the evils, and none of the advantages, of a bank duly established by law. I did also intend to have stated the reasons which have brought me to the conclusion, that a well-regulated Bank of the United States is the best remedy which can be applied for the distempered state of the times, and the best agent which the government can employ in the management of its fiscal concerns. But having trespassed so long upon the time of the committee, I will hasten to a conclusion, after stating my "last though not least" objection to this new-fangled scheme.

It is the project, and a favorite project, of this administration. Yes, startling and unsound as the reason may seem to some, I repeat, I am opposed to it, because it is another project of the same men who have proven themselves so utterly ignorant of all financial knowledge, so entirely incapable of conducting the destinies of this government, and who, by their corruption and mismanagement, have shown themselves so entirely unworthy the confidence of a free people. I have for a long time believed, sincerely and honestly believed, that the first great duty which every patriot owed to his country, was to assist in pulling down the strong holds of this administration. I believe it the duty of a statesman to view every great question of national policy, which is presented before him, in all its bearings—not only in relation to its immediate objects and direct results, but to its more remote consequences also, and the influence it is likely to have upon after times. If I sustain this measure, it must be with a hope of, and with a view to, its success. And if it succeed, what is the consequence? Why, I aid in establishing this dynasty in power, and in perpetuating upon my country this scene of corruption and misrule, which has so long prevailed. Sir, I cannot, I cannot do it. It is well known to all, that upon the issue of this question the administration must stand or fall; and the peals of victory which have for several months been ringing from the mountains to the Atlantic, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the lakes, give us good reason to hope that the day of our deliverance is drawing near. Even admitting this measure to be harmless, still I believe it better that the country should bear "yet a little longer" the commercial embarrassment which prevails, than that we should have entailed upon us this corrupt dynasty, which has heretofore, notwithstanding all our manly struggles to get rid of it, stuck to us like the shirt of Nessus. And shall I, who have so long denounced their enormities and exclaimed against their misdeeds, shall *I* come forward and contribute my humble aid to sustain them in power? Never, never, while I recollect the ruin, the misery, the degradation they have inflicted upon my country.

I cannot forgive them for their conduct during the period of the proclamation and force bill, in which they not only preached a crusade against the interests of the south, but led on by the high toned advocates of consolidation, they inflicted a wound upon the rights of the states from which they have never yet recovered. I cannot forgive them for their wasteful extravagance with the public money,* appropriating millions for the improvement of remote and unimportant harbors merely to purchase political strength; and in paying holders of useless offices, created solely for the purpose of rewarding faithful partizans. I cannot forgive

* From an official report of the Secretary of the Treasury, it appears that the expenditures of the government, exclusive of the public debt, were, for the year 1828, the last year of Mr. Adams's administration, $13,229,833
1836, the last year of Gen. Jackson's administration, 30,868,164
1837, the first year of Mr. Van Buren's administration, 39,164,748

them for their attempt, and present design, of purchasing up the votes of the new states, by giving them all the public lands within their limits in the disguise of pre-emption and graduation laws†—the same lands which were acquired by the common blood and treasure of the old thirteen states, or which were purchased by a fund to which all the states contributed in due proportion. I cannot forgive them for insulting the dignity of the country, by appointing and retaining in office men bankrupt in character and credit, and whose elevation is in proportion to their profligacy and crime. Above all, I cannot forgive them for the "expunge." Sir, that was an act, at the bare contemplation of which the patriot starts back with horror. At the mention of it, he is ready to exclaim, "is it fancy, or is it fact!" But if evidence is wanting, go to the mutilated record of your country—that record which was designed by the fathers of the constitution as a legacy for posterity, to transmit to them the history of our deeds and the light of our experience—go to that record, and view it blotted and blurred, nay, destroyed, by the very men who had solemnly sworn that they would "keep" it; and that under the direction and supervision of him† who seems to have taken this method of spiting his country for the odium with which it had visited his depravity. What a scene must that have been! Something similar had been represented in ideal, but nothing like it is real history. I allude to the scene where Milton represents the infernal deities in council, receiving from Satan, on his return from Paradise, an account of the fall and the defeat (as he thought) of the benevolent designs of the Creator in forming man. The ghastly smile with which they received the announcement, was no doubt similar to that which played from face to face around the Senate hall, on the night when they perpetrated the dark and dreadful deed. And the parallel will not stop here. The co-workers in that iniquitous proceeding will, in process of time, be consigned to their merited degradation and obscurity, as their prototypes, the imps of Satan, were driven howling to their dark domain. Yes, that is a crime which will not be forgotten like other political heresies, but which amid all the mutations of party which are likely to happen in our day and generation, will stand blazoned forth upon its perpetrators, like the mark of Cain, to warn all men of their insidious approach. No matter how sincere may be their repentance, no matter how great their effort at atonement, still the "damned spot" is there, and it will never "out" at their bidding.

I have been told, Mr. Chairman, that that this is a State Rights' measure, and have been taunted with a desertion of my principles in opposing it. Now, from whom does this charge come? Does it come from men who have sounded the alarm of danger whenever our rights have been invaded? No sir, it comes from the very men who have so often stood by with folded hands, and beheld without a murmur the constitution trampled under foot. And now they prate about state rights and the constitution! Where was their attachment to state rights a few years since, when the storms of civil war lowered over our country; when the heart of the patriot was swelling, bursting with anguish at the dread prospect before him; when the father looked in sorrow upon his helpless son in anticipation of the horrors which awaited his manhood, and the mother pressed her infant to her bosom with fear and trembling; when the tyrant with uplifted sword was calling for power to put freemen to death. There was then an opportunity for them to show their attachment to state rights, and their love of the constitution. They then had an opportunity to "show their faith by their works." There were the slavish myrmidons of power, united with the friends of consolidation, marshalled for conflict, on the one hand, prepared to enforce their unconstitutional oppression, while on the other hand, stood a chosen band of patriots who had sworn on the altar of the country that "the last entrenchment of liberty should be their graves." Where were these same men then found, who are now so tenacious of the rights of the states! They either cried to the tyrant "onward" and were for letting "slip the dogs of war," or else they stood mute, afraid to gainsay their master's will. But now they have of a sudden become most zealous converts, and talk as familiarly of the rights of the states and the Constitution "as maids of thirteen do of puppy dogs."

Sir, I have no confidence in their professions: none whatever. In fact I have always discovered in my experience through life, that it is not they who deal in the loudest professions, or who wear the fairest exterior, who are most to be trusted in the hour of need. 'Tis not he who "capers most nimbly in a lady's chamber," or from whose lips the most fulsome rhapsodies fall, that bows with most sincere devotion at the shrine of female excellence, or is most ready to bare his bosom in defence of the wives and daughters of the land. Neither is it he who discorses most loudly of his patriotism, that is most ready to serve his country when the day of peril arrives. Nor is it they who talk most valiantly of the rights of the states, that are most worthy to be trusted with their potection; for the very men who now taunt me with a desertion of my States Right principles, are the same who, but a short time since, were for putting me, in common with others, to death, for daring to oppose what they themselves admitted to be a violation of the constitution and the reserved rights of the states.

But they say I am leagued with men with whom I have no principles in common, and with whom I differ on most great questions of national policy. Perhaps so—but then the object of our union is not yet accomplished. We united for the purpose of arresting the headlong career of extravagance and corruption, which have characterized the present and preceding Administrations. We have been engaged in a common struggle, to rescue our violated rights from the political barbarians who have nearly thrown down all the ancient land-marks of constitutional liberty. When we have effected our purpose, we will then dissolve the co-partnership, if we cannot longer "carry on our business" in peace. But until that is accomplished, we shall not talk of a separation. Let us first expel the Infidels from the borders of Christendon, and we will then set about to heal the divisions in our political church. But if gentlemen believe that I have enlisted under the banner of Federalism for the purpose of fighting the battles of consolidation, they know but little of my feelings, and judge very improperly of my motives. I belong to the strict constructionist school of '98—a school, the true disciples of which will always be found warring against usurpation, let it come from quarter it may. And I take occasion now to say, that if this Administration goes down—as go down it must—and the dynasty which may rise upon its ruins should attempt to administer the government, though honestly and patriotically, yet upon federal latitudinarian principles—principles which tend to the consolidation of all power in the General Government, and which I believe to be repugnant to the nature and policy of our institutions—in that case I shall be found again in the opposition, as I am now, warring against it with all the zeal and ability I may possess. And if to that "complexion it should come at last,"—perhaps I may then be found united with the same men I am now opposing, who, by that time, having passed through an ordeal sufficient to test the purity of their faith, and having tasted the bitter of adversity, as well as the sweets of prosperity, will become faithful soldiers in their country's cause, and be the better able to do justice to the motives that actuate me now.

I must confess, sir, that when Mr. Calhoun—he whose name has so often been a rallying cry for the enemies of oppression—when he went over to the support of the sub-treasury, I was induced to pause and ponder, as much however from astonishment, as for the purpose of examining the course I ought to pursue. Never in the history of the world was any man, either sage or chieftain, looked to with more veneration by his followers, than was Mr. Calhoun by the ardent and chivalrous sons of the south, and from no one more than him who now addresses you. And that admiration which they felt for him, was not the offspring of interest or ambition; it was not an offering at the shrine of patronage and power; but it was a free and voluntary tribute to the gigantic power of his intellect, and the unblemished purity of his character. But many of us who have so long and so ardently admired his virtues, are left to exclaim in the bitterness of our souls, "a curse on his virtues, they have undone his country." Of his motives I will not pretend to judge. Whether it was the same felt spirit which caused Satan to be hurled headlong from the battlements of heaven, or whether it was some strange delusion, to which great minds are subject as well as small, it matters not, as the consequences to us are the same. He is gone! at the very moment when victory seemed almost within our grasp; when the Vandals were in full retreat from Rome; he, whose powerful arm had dealt such destruction in the ranks, is seen beckoning them back to the conflict. Nay more; he not only invites them back, but he is immediately invested by them with the insignia of authority; he is made their champion and leader; and is now engaged doing the work of death on the same friends in whose van he had so often marched to victory. Like Pausanias, who led the confederate Greeks to victory at the immortal battle of Platæa, after having, by a series of illustrious exploits, emblazoned his name high upon the lists of fame, he has condescended to "stoop from his pride of place," and enter into negotiations with the very enemies who have so often felt the force of his power. Every reader of history recollects the melancholy fate of the Spartan general. It is gratifying however to see, that although Mr. Calhoun's personal influence and weight of character may have carried with him his own state, still the great body of the states rights party in the other states remain firm and unshaken. True, we have no leader, we are left like sheep without a shepherd; but still we have the consolation of knowing that our only object is the welfare of our country. The course of Mr. Calhoun has inflicted another blow—I fear a fatal one—upon state rights. He was looked to as the great head and champion of our principles—as indeed he was—and his course is well calculated to throw discredit upon us all. But I exhort that remnant of the states rights party which yet remains firm, not to despair. Let us strike yet another blow for our principles and our country. Let us again unite; let us gather up the tattered fragments of the constitution, weave them into a banner, and wave it on high as a rallying signal for all those who are determined to keep the republican faith, and to "fight the good fight" of constitutional liberty. Then "if we fall, we fall as glorious martyrs."

One word in conclusion, to our Senators in Congress, I have been frequently asked, since I introduced the resolutions now under consideration, whether I intended them as instructions. Sir, they are intended to have all the binding efficacy which can possibly attach to legislative resolutions. They even go further. They are a solemn appeal to our Senators, in the name of the freemen of North Carolina, whose representatives we are. But, say they, why not insert the word "instruct?" Because I conceive the 8th resolution to be couched in language more solemn, more binding, more entitled to respect and obedience. Moreover, it is derogatory to the character of North Carolina, whose representatives they are, to suppose for a moment that our Senators will attempt to sneak from responsibility by taking refuge under such a paltry and contemptible excuse as the absence of the word "instruct" would afford them. In fact, they are both pledged on record, that when properly informed of the will of their constituents, they will either obey or resign. The Hon. Robert Strange, in his speech on the sub-treasury at the last session of Congress, says, that "if the people of North Carolina are dissatisfied with the course of their representives on this floor, they well know how to signify their disapprobation, and they know, too, that they have in my colleague and myself two obedient servants, who, when the *will* of *their constituents is communicated* to them in a proper and intelligible manner, will either *conform* thereto, or *bid adieu* to these halls, nor cast one longing lingering look behind." He here says, that the *will of his constituents being communicated to him*, will present no other alternative but a *conformity thereto*, or a bidding adieu to the *halls* of Congress. He not only makes a pledge for himself, but for his colleague also, in whose hearing it was made, and who gave a tacit assent thereto. But hear the Hon. Mr. Brown also. In his speech at the Yanceyville festival he says: "The Democratic party never contended for any other *mode* of instruction to Senators than that of the state legislatures, *by resolutions expressing their sentiments.*" Again he says, "it is the only practicable mode of ascertaining public sentiment,"—and "if at any time it shall be the pleasure of the Legislature of this state to pass resolutions of instruction, (the only "mode" of which he has before said is "by resolutions *expressing their sentiments,*") I shall endeavor faithfully to carry out their wishes on my part, unless I am required to do an act contrary to my convictions of constitutional principle and duty." The resolutions on your table are framed to meet their recorded opinion of the proper *mode* of instruction. They are "the will of their constituents communicated to them" by "resolutions expressing their sentiments." And I now call upon both our Senators, before this house and before the injured people of this state, to redeem the pledges which they have made. For if these resolutions pass—as pass I believe they will—they will have no other alternative than to conform to their injunctions, surrender their posts, or hold on to station at the price of honor. Believing that the principles assumed in the resolutions are correct, and that the interest of the country requires that they should be carried into practice, and that of North Carolina that her representatives should sustain them, I have brought them before this house. It is in this spirit they were introduced; it is in this spirit I have tried to discuss them; and it is in this spirit I hope they will be passed.

† The following is the vote in the Senate at the last session of Congress, on the final passage of the pre emption bill. Those in *italics* are the friends of the administration.

For the bill—Messrs *Allen, Benton, Brown, Buchanan, Clay of Alabama, Cuthbert, Fulton, Grundy, Hubbard, King, Linn, Lumpkin, Lyon, Mouton, Nicholas, Niles, Norvell, Pierce, Rives, Robinson, Sevier, Smith of Connecticut*, Tallmadge, *Tipton, Walker*, Webster, White, *Wilkins, Wright*, and Young—23

Against the bill—Messrs Bayard, Calhoun, Clay of Kentucky, Clayton, Crittenden, Davis, M'Kean, Morrick, *Morris*, Prentiss, Preston, *Sevier*, Robbins, Smith of Indiana, Southard, Spencer, Swift, and Wall—18

The graduation bill passed the Senate by nearly the same vote—27 to 16—Mr. *Strange*, who was absent on the above vote, now being present and voting for the bill.

‡ Mr. Benton.

MR. STANLY AND DR. DUNCAN.

From the National Intelligencer.

TO THE EDITORS.

Washington, February 21, 1839.

GENTLEMEN: On the 20th instant, my attention was called to a publication in the Globe, signed A. DUNCAN, in which I am abused and denounced, in language almost as violent as the people of the Southern States have been by the same individual.

This communication has created no other sensations with me than those of ineffable disgust and humiliation—disgust, to see such an article paraded before the world, in the official paper, (in the paper too supported by Executive patronage;) and humiliation, that such a man should be a member of Congress. I do not wish the author of this article any other punishment than that the people should read his communication in the Globe of the 19th of February, 1839.

I had not been in the House, on the morning of the 20th instant, more than an hour, before the annexed letter, signed by my friend S. S. Prentiss and others, was handed to me. After the receipt of this, several other statements were offered me, and I requested several gentlemen to give me their opinions in regard to the correctness of the report of the speech.

I must ask the favor of you to publish these letters with this note. The letters are from gentlemen who advocate the Sub Treasury—from Whigs and from Conservatives.

Washington, February 20 1839

DEAR SIR: Our attention has been called to a publication in the Globe of this day, signed A. Duncan, which denies that the speech as published in the National Intelligencer, purporting to be your "reply to Dr. Duncan, of Ohio," on the 17th day of January, 1839, was ever delivered in the House of Representatives. We were present when you replied to Dr. Duncan on that day, and heard your remarks through; and feel bound in justice and truth to tender to you our testimony that the said report of your remarks in reply to Dr. Duncan, on the 17th of January, 1839, is, according to our recollection, in which we are confident, more faithful and correct than reports of speeches in the House of Representatives are usually; that it is nearly, if not quite, verbatim correct; and if incorrect in any respect, it is less severe than were your remarks on the floor. We add, also, that your remarks seemed to be extemporaneous; and at the moment you regretted that you had not a copy of Dr. Duncan's letter on the subject of abolition; and it was, we thought, from the expression of this regret that Mr. Slade (of Vermont) openly handed you a copy of that letter, from which you read several extracts.

We beg leave to express to you our individual respect and esteem, and are, most truly, your friends,

S. S. PRENTISS.
RICHARD CHEATHAM.
JOHN BELL.
CHARLES NAYLOR.
WM. KEY BOND.
T. J. WORD.
HENRY A. WISE.
JOHN CALHOON.
WADDY THOMPSON, Jr.
E. J. SHIELDS.
D. JENIFER.
F. MALLORY.
S. T. SAWYER

Hon. ED. STANLY, House of Reps.

House of Representatives, Feb 21, 1839.

DEAR SIR: I listened very attentively to your speech in reply to Dr. Duncan, on the 17th of January last, and have since that time read the report of it in the National Intelligencer. It strikes me that the speech is reported with the accuracy usual in Congressional debates, and especially in those portions of it which personally referred to the member from Ohio. Indeed, in regard to that portion of the printed speech I have remarked some mitigation of the severity of the phrases used.

If you consider it important that I should give my recollection of *the time* occupied by you in speaking on that occasion, I can say that my impression is that you occupied the floor but little short of an hour. You spoke some short time before a copy of Mr. Duncan's answers to certain interrogatories respecting abolition could be found in the House; and after a copy of them had been procured, you read large extracts from them, and commented upon them in the manner in which your remarks appear in your speech.

Truly, yours,

J. P. KENNEDY.

Hon. EDWARD STANLY.

House of Representatives, Feb. 20, 1839.

SIR: In answer to your note just handed me, I state that I heard your speech delivered in the House on the 17th ult. in reply to Mr. Duncan, and have also read it in the National Intelligencer, and that it appears to me to be, in substance, correctly reported.

Respectfully, yours,

S. GRANTLAND.

Hon. EDWARD STANLY.

House of Representatives, Feb. 21, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR: I was in my seat in the House, during the delivery of your speech of the 17th of January. I have endeavored to recall to my mind my first impressions of the length of time you were on the floor, and confidently say that it was from three-quarters of an hour to an hour. As regards the fidelity with which the speech has been reported, I repeat what I have frequently said, that I never have seen a printed speech more true to the oral one than yours, and this opinion I know to be coincident with that of several other members of our House, who, like myself, had the pleasure of being present when you spoke.

As regards the communication between you and Mr. Slade, I considered it a mere incident, unworthy of particular remark. You, in the course of your speech, when commenting upon Dr. Duncan's letter, expressed a regret that you did not have it at hand, I then saw Mr. Slade (who happened to be sitting near you) proffer a paper to you, which I presumed was the letter, because you read extracts from it as from that letter. I observed no other communication between you and him; and I may be permitted to add, that if any thing to your injury with your constituents can be manufactured out of such merely incidental circumstances, I shall be much mistaken in their character.

I am, dear sir, very respectfully, yours,

J. JACKSON, of Georgia.

The Hon. EDWARD STANLY.

House of Representatives, Feb. 21, 1839.

SIR: Your note of yesterday has just been handed to me, and, in reply to it, I say that I heard your speech, delivered in this house on the 17th ultimo, in answer to Dr. Duncan, of Ohio, and have since read it as published in pamphlet form, and in the National Intelligencer; and, whilst my recollection of particular remarks made in this house is perhaps not as good as many others, I must say that I thought your speech, as delivered, quite as severe as the published remarks, and I think I have rarely seen a speech more faithfully reported, according to my best recollection.

Very respectfully, I am your ob't servant.

G. W. HOPKINS.

Hon. E. STANLY.

I fully concur with my friend and colleague, Mr. Hopkins, in the above statement. I recollect distinctly most of the striking remarks in the published speech.

A. STUART.

Being called upon by Mr. Stanly to say whether I heard his speech in reply to Dr. Duncan, and whether the report of it in the National Intelligencer is accurate, I state that I heard the speech and have read the report of it, and believe the report to be in substance faithfully written out, according to my best recollection.

J. GARLAND.

Washington, Feb 21, 1839.

SIR: I see a publication in the Globe of the 19th February, 1839, signed A. Duncan, denying that you made the remarks in the House of Representatives, which were published in the National Intelligencer in answer to Dr. Duncan, on the appointment of a committee to investigate the defalcations at the custom-house in the city of New York. When Mr. Stanly begun his speech, I was sitting near the fire-place in the south-western part of the house, reading some papers, and did not distinctly hear his remarks, but after a short time my attention was attracted by Mr. Stanly stating his intention to comment upon a letter in relation to abolition, which purported to be written by Dr. Duncan. I then left my distant position, and drew near enough to hear Mr. Stanly make his remarks on that letter, which I had seen and read in the newspapers. After I took my seat on the inside of the bar, and near the vacant space in front of the Speaker's chair, I heard all the remarks Mr. Stanly delivered in the continuation of his speech on that occasion. I attended particularly to the passages and extracts which he read from Dr. Duncan's letter, which he held in his hand, and to the comments and remarks of Mr. Stanly upon the opinions and sentiments expressed in the letter. When the remarks of Mr. Stanly in answer to Dr. Duncan's speech were published in the National Intelligencer in the early part of this month, I read them. I believed then, and believe now, that many of the very words and sentences found in the printed speech were used by Mr. Stanly in his verbal speech in debate; and that the speech published is substantially the same which was delivered in the House of Representatives.

Respectfully,

JAMES GRAHAM.

To the Hon. EDWARD STANLY.

Washington, Feb 21, 1839.

DEAR SIR: By comparing your speech as published with our recollection of it as delivered, in reply to the Hon. A. Duncan of Ohio, on the 17th ult. we feel no hesitation in stating that it has been correctly reported; and by this we do not mean merely to say that the report embodies the thoughts and sentiments conveyed by you while speaking, but preserves throughout, with remarkable fidelity, the very words and phrases in which you uttered them.

Very respectfully,

A. H. SHEPPERD.
EDMUND DEBERRY.

To the Hon. E. STANLY.

I did not hear the whole of Mr. Stanly's speech. I heard distinctly, I suppose, two-thirds, perhaps three-fourths of it; and I say that it is, I believe, so far as I did hear, very correctly reported in the printed copy—as much so, I think, as any other speech I have heard or read.

LEWIS WILLIAMS.

From the distance at which I sat from Mr. Stanly's seat, I could not hear him distinctly, but from what I did hear, I have no hesitation in giving it as my opinion that the speech as reported is correctly given. I have never before heard its correctness questioned.

A. RENCHER.

I have read the foregoing statement of Messrs. Shepperd and Deberry, and fully concur with them in opinion.

JOHN W. CROCKETT.

SIR: You did me the honor to address to me a note, enclosing the rough draugh of your speech in regard to Mr. Duncan's letter on the subject of abolition, taken by me at the time, and from which you afterwards wrote out the speech as since published—with a request that I would compare the published speech with the notes, and then say whether it did not correspond with them, and did not follow the track which those notes indicated as having been taken by you when speaking. I have complied with your request, and feel no hesitation in saying that it does. Candor leads me further to say, that the speech very fully agrees with my recollection of it, as delivered; that it is much less extended than is usual when members write out their speeches from Reporters' notes; and that you have not inserted in the published speech all that was spoken in the house. As to the time occupied in its delivery, if you said, as I think you did, that you had occupied but fifteen minutes, I am persuaded you were unconscious of the lapse of time. My impression is, that you spoke, in all, including the reading of extracts from the letter, at least half an hour.

You are at liberty to make what use you please of the above, which a sense of justice induces me to furnish at your request; but I pray, at the same time, that I may not be drawn into the very midst of controversy between yourself and Mr. Duncan farther than sheer necessity shall demand.

With sincere regard, I am, sir, your ob't serv't.

ARTHUR JO. STANSBURY,
Reporter for the National Intelligencer.

Hon. Mr. STALY.

The letter published in the Globe of the 19th instant, affords much material for comment. Besides the misstatements as to the correctness of the reported speech, others are very apparent. But I cannot deliberately condescend to expose this individual, who is already punished more than he can bear. I cannot believe he is in earnest in using such harsh epithets towards me. He no doubt intended to speak of me as he did of slavery, as it exists in "the slave states in our Union," merely "in the abstract!" He has presented abolition petitions since he voted on the Atherton resolutions. He is a democratic Van Buren friend of the South; and of course he is willing to let slavery continue in this district and the states—he only wishes to abolish it "in the abstract."

Self-respect, regard for the opinions of my friends, respect for my constituents—all forbid that I should condescend to notice the author of such a communication.

I owe an apology to the gentlemen whose respect I possess and prize, for having noticed this individual at all. I knew it was a contest in which I could gain no laurels. But he had been constituted the defender of the administration; the speech-maker, "by authority," of the party; the libeller of Southern institutions. He had attended the caucus, with the Democratic Esaus—the exclusive friends of the South—with the monopolizers of all the chivalry in our land; and I availed myself of the opportunity. I submitted to the disagreeable necessity of using the "bodkin and shears" upon him, for the purpose of exposing the Southern humbugging chivalry democrats.

When he spoke of "Cresers and Herculus, Ass-yris, cleaning stables, hickory broom," &c., a friend of mine perceived me writing down what he said, and begged me not to notice him, asking me "Do you consider him a gentleman?" I instantly asked, in return, "Do you consider me a candidate for admission into a lunatic asylum?" And then remarked that I wished to say something in reply to his praises of Tappan, his denial that there were any Democratic abolitionists, &c.

In conclusion, let me assure the "deponent" of the Globe, that his malignant vituperation has not produced the slightest feeling of resentment; and wishing him many more pleasant rides with his friend and patron at the White House—wishing him much liesure to practise with the broad sword and the clarionet, I leave him to the judgment of an intelligent community.

EDWARD STANLY.

The Standard is still defending and copying and puffing Mr. Duncan, the man who wrote the celebrated letter from which the following passages are extracts:

"There is no man living, perhaps, who is more deadly hostile to slavery than I am. * * * Yes, greater in its moral effects and corrupting tendencies *than all other human evils put together*. It is not only a moral and political evil within itself, or *intrinsically so of the darkest and most damning character*, but in all its bearings and effects calculated to produce the most fatal effects on both the moral and political institutions of our country. *It is an evil that has, does now, and will in all time to come while it exists, involve in it, as well in its present possession as in its future operations, crime, fraud, theft, robbery, murder and death.* * * * But the curse be on the heads of those who sustain such an institution."

Is the Standard not afraid of being branded as an abolition print? Much less reason than that would at any day have sufficed the Standard to charge any *Whig paper* with favoring abolition; and that too, though the Whig editor may have been all his life a citizen of a slave state and an owner of slaves. How much more, therefore, ought the editor of the Standard, the "northern man with southern principles," to be on his guard lest he shake the public faith in his sincerity. It would be distressing to find the Standard, with all its zeal, on the side of the fanatics; and if it continues to keep such company as Dr. Duncan, we fear the public will judge it accordingly. "Tell me who are a man's friends, and I will tell you *what* he is." *Fayetteville Obs.*

SPEECH OF MR PRESTON.

From the United States Gazette.

The Philadelphia Democratic Whig Association met on Monday evening. Carel's, but such was the throng, that it was found necessary to adjourn to the Court House, where a part only of those who wished to attend were enabled to obtain admission.

JOSIAH RANDALL, Esq., President, took the Chair.

The Hon. JOHN SERGEANT responded to a call, and, with his usual eloquence, stirred up the Whigs to good feelings and good resolves. We were unable to squeeze into a place of audience until near the close of the address, but found that the true feelings were animating the speaker and extending to the audience. Mr. S. urged the Whigs to prepare for the June State Convention, and to abide by their *principles*, the principles by which they had united, and on which they must stand or fall. He urged them to a due consideration of *men* to carry out their principles, and assured them that success with those who could not sustain the principles of the Whigs

would not remedy the national evils, and would be less desirable than defeat. As a high-minded minority, we might prevent evil, but, successful with incompetent men, we could neither do good nor prevent wrong.

Mr. SERGEANT concluded amid the hearty applause of the meeting, and the Hon. W. C. PRESTON, United States Senator from South Carolina, was loudly called for, who came forward amid the cheers of the company.

Mr. PRESTON expressed the high degree of pleasure which he felt in once more meeting his Whig brethren of the city of Philadelphia. It was, he said, five years since he had visited the city on the invitation of those whom he had now the pleasure of meeting. He then stood side by side with men whose lead he was proud to follow—his distinguished colleague, a Senator from Mississippi, a Senator from Alabama, a Senator from Louisiana, and members of the House of Representatives from his own state. Those gentlemen were now mostly estranged from him. It was unnecessary to go into causes, but they had been such as to leave him standing alone, the solitary Whig member of the United States Senate south of the Potomac.

But the cause which he supported was the same now that it was in 1834: he stood upon the same ground, maintained the same principles, and battled against the same abuses of power and Executive usurpation now that he did then; and, by the help of God, he would maintain that ground and fight that battle to the last, flinch who might.

He alluded to the severe contest which the Whigs in Congress had been compelled to sustain. It required all their exertions to keep the ruinous measures of the Administration in check; they could do little else; they had prevented much evil by defeating the sub-Treasury bill, but they could do no more. Even under the defeat of that bill—its suspension, for it was not yet killed, only scotched—the country began to rise from its depressed state, and to exert her energies. But, if this were the case, when the career of the present Administration has been only checked, what might not be expected when the Whigs should displace the present powers that be, and be able to act efficiently, and to carry out their conservative principles? We should then see the whole country rise, and expand, and teem with prosperity. Industry would find encouragement and protection, the shackles would be removed from commerce, confidence would be restored, and no man would have cause to fear any fatal blow to his prospects from the Government, which was not now the case, and had not been for many years past.

Mr. P. urged upon the Whigs the necessity of being UNITED. They must sustain the broad principles of whigism, the only *ism*, he said, by which they could sustain themselves. If they were *united*, they might look forward to certain triumph. He as fully believed, if they stood by their principles, and pressed forward in the good cause shoulder to shoulder, they would come off victorious, as he believed in an allwise and overruling Providence. But if they did not, defeat was *certain*—it was vain to talk of *victory* without UNION.

Tennessee, he said, was with us, Georgia was with us, North Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi were with us, and Virginia was coming, if she had not already come; and what, he asked, had brought them to us? The *principles*—the broad, the catholic, the conservative principles of whigism. These principles had sent a WISE, of Virginia, a DAWSON, of Georgia, a PRENTISS, of Mississippi, a BELL, of Tennessee, and a STANLY, of North Carolina, to Congress, and nobly did they sustain the glorious cause."

Yes, he repeated, it is Whig *principles* and Whig principles alone, which has brought so many of the Southern states to sustain that banner, and to array themselves against this destructive administration. I implore you then, he said, one and all, as you regard the success of these principles and, this cause, to stand by them and maintain them as the last hope of the nation. Do not suffer any division; let us rally under the same banner, and, supporting the constitutional rights of *all* sections of the country, stand by each other. Then our success will be certain.

Mr. P. said it did not perhaps become him to speak, in this place, of *men*; but, as the Whig flag could not be sustained without a hand to hold it aloft when raised, he must be indulged in are mark or two upon this subject. The flag under which we rally, he said, is a noble, a grand and expanded one, and proud we are of it; it should be placed in a hand worthy of it, and able to spread it forth upon the breeze. That hand is the hand of HENRY CLAY. To him, and to no other man, must our banner be entrusted, if we would see it gloriously floating aloft in proud and triumphant victory.

Mr. CLAY, he said, was a noble man. He, himself, came into the Senate with strong prejudices against him. He had warmly opposed him long before he knew him. In the Senate he found himself by his side—he watched him with a suspicious eye—but his prejudices had gradually given way before the power of truth; and from being a suspicious opponent, he would frankly confess he had become an admirer of the man. It was not his eloquence—that was well known—it was not the great services which he had rendered his country, and which must be familiar to all, that won him; but it was his noble nature—his fearless support of what his judgment told him was *right*, regardless of consequences, that called forth his admiration. No man ever looked danger in the eye with a more determined, unblenching countenance, when in the pursuit of truth, or the sustainment of right, than HENRY CLAY. (Great cheering.) This he spoke of his own knowledge. He had seen him standing, as it were, upon the very edge of a political gulf, down which, apparently, a single step must plunge him. I have seen him (said Mr. P.) look into the gulf with a fixed, yet unblenching eye, and, with all its consequences before him, take the step which he thought DUTY required. Such a man is HENRY CLAY. (Cheers.)

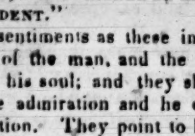
I have heard him utter, said Mr. Preston, in his closet, sentiments which, had they fallen from the lips of one of the ancients of Greece or Rome, would have been repeated with admiration to the present day. On one occasion, (continued Mr. P.) he did me the honor to send for and consult with me. It was in reference to a step he was about to take, and which will, perhaps, come to your minds without more direct allusion. After stating what he proposed, I suggested whether there would not be danger in it, whether such a course would not injure his own prospects, as well as those of the Whig party in general. His reply was, "I did not send for you to ask what might be the effect of the proposed movement on my *prospects*, but whether it was *right*; I HAD RATHER BE RIGHT THAN BE PRESIDENT."

Such sentiments as these indicate the loftiness of the man, and the high purposes of his soul; and they should call forth the admiration and he confidence of the nation. They point to him as the most worthy to wield her destinies I avow myself, therefore, for HENRY CLAY. I will not say I *believe* the Whigs will be defeated unless they rally as one man, in a solid phalanx, around him and their principles. I KNOW IT. It is inevitable. But if they do thus rally, their triumph is certain. May it be my lot to congratulate you hereafter upon your victory, rather than condole with you, and mourn with the country on your defeat!

We took no notes of any speeches, and occupied a position not favorable to hearing. We must not, therefore, be considered as attempting to give more than a sketch of the eloquent remarks of the two distinguished speakers.

When Mr Preston mentioned the name of Henry Clay in connexion with the Whig banner, there was an outburst of feeling that told of the hold which that great man had on the affections of the meeting. Three times three they cheered, and then asked for "one more," before they allowed the speaker to proceed. It was a gratifying occasion, and will be productive of good.

On motion of Mr. B. Badger, the Association adjourned to meet on Saturday evening next, at seven o'clock, at the Temperance Hall, Northern Liberties.



HILLSBOROUGH.

Monday, March 25.

MR. CLAY.—We have long looked upon Mr. Clay as one of the most talented, open-hearted and generous of our statesman, abounding with love of country and enthusiastic in the cause of liberty. These opinions have gained strength from year to year, as new developements were made in the character and views of this exalted individual. Possessing these feelings towards him, and believing him the only candidate for the Presidency spoken of who can unite the vote of the Southern Whigs, we have been gratified to see the Whig press, one after another, coming out in his favor. A short time since the Wilmington Advertiser hoisted the Clay flag, "subject to the decision of a national Whig convention;" but the Carolina Watchman and the Newbern Spectator, seem to have nailed their colours to the mast, as we intend to do. We have to-day copied several articles on this subject, and in future numbers shall give others, accompanied with a more extended expression of our own views.

The Raleigh Register suggests to the Whigs of Wake the propriety of holding a meeting during the week of Wake Superior Court, and appointing delegates to a District Convention, to meet at Hillsborough sometime between this and Person Superior Court, for the purpose of nominating some suitable person as the Whig candidate for Congress in this district; and calls upon the Whigs of Orange and Person to second the movement. If the prospect of the Whigs is not the most brilliant, he thinks there ought to be the more exertion; and he brings forward the unrelaxed efforts of our opponents in this particular as worthy of imitation. In this he is perhaps right. "Faint heart never won fair lady." What say our Whig friends of Orange?

Mr. Stanly and Dr. Duncan.—A week or two ago we promised to give to our readers the triumphant reply of Mr Stanly to a scurrilous and ruffian-like publication made by the Hon. Dr. Duncan, the abolitionist. We to-day fulfill that promise. An attentive observer would hardly require any other testimony than that which is contained in the speech itself, to be convinced that it was delivered, as represented, in the House of Representatives. If not there delivered, how could Mr. Stanly's appeal to the representatives from Kentucky have called forth the deeply felt responses of Mr. Southgate and other members from that state? Or how could Dr. Duncan himself have answered "I do" to the query whether he believed "that Congress should maintain unabridged the right of the people to petition for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the district of Columbia?" Or to the second query, "Are you opposed to the admission of any state into the federal union whose constitution tolerates slavery," how could he have answered "I am?" And at various periods in the speech, how could he have interrupted Mr Stanly by attempts to explain, if the speech was not delivered before him?

But Dr. Duncan's letter to the Globe, published also in the Standard, instead of proving that Mr. Stanly's speech "never was delivered in the House of Representatives," and that "its very caption or title contains a base falsehood and a mean attempt at fraud and imposition upon the public," proves directly the reverse. He gives the testimony of three members of Congress, Mr. Turney, Mr. Bynum, and Mr. Moore. These gentlemen testify, not that any thing was inserted in the published speech which was not delivered in the house, but that they *heard* Mr. Stanly's reply to Dr. Duncan; and though they did not tax their minds as to the precise time occupied by Mr. Stanly, they suppose it was some "fifteen or twenty minutes."

These facts seem to be sufficient to show, that the speech of Mr. Stanly, purporting to have been delivered in the House of Representatives on the 17th of January in reply to Dr. Duncan, *was* there delivered, the assertions of the *honorable* Doctor to the contrary notwithstanding. But if any doubt should remain, it cannot fail to be dissipated by the testimony contained in the letter of Mr. Stanly, which we give to our readers to-day. Twenty-five members of Congress—Whigs, Conservatives, and Van Buren men—all concur in testifying that they heard the speech delivered, had read it in the National Intelligencer, that it was reported with more than usual fidelity, and that its delivery occupied from three quarters of an hour to an hour.

Notwithstanding all this array of testimony, the truth-loving editor of the Standard continues to humbug his readers by imposing upon them the belief that Mr. Stanly's speech never was delivered!

"The Hillsborough Recorder asks 'how long is it since the Nullification party has been incorporated into the Republican family? Will the Standard please inform us?" We answer: Ever since their Hartford Convention Allies attempted to use them to their purpose of selling the Constitution and the Country to a *British Bank*. Is the Recorder satisfied?"

N. C. Standard.

The editor of the Standard is informed that we never learned the art of "extracting sun-beams from cucumbers;" and have not, therefore, the ability to gather any particles of light from the erudite paragraph quoted above. To our simple mind the inuendoes appear rather far fetched; and being beyond our comprehension, we are deprived of the pleasure of expressing our satisfaction at the condescending reply of the Standard.

But—for we may as well, perhaps, put the "but" here, as to lay it over for another paragraph—*but*, we would add, the Standard has on several occasions associated the Recorder with the Hartford Convention heresy. Now, if the Standard uses these words *only for effect*, as he does "Bank-bought," "Federal Whiggery," and the many other phrases out of which he manufactures his paragraphs, let him *say so*, and go ahead. But if he thinks he can connect us with the Hartford Convention, either in word, or deed, or thought, let him come out like an honest man and tell what he knows; and not sneak ignobly behind a bundle of base inuendoes. The Standard has well said, in the paper before us, that "it is as heinous a crime to *insinuate* falsehoods against a neighbor, as it is to charge them boldly." The Standard should consider whether he has not herein condemned himself.

From the Carolina Watchman.

When the question was first agitated as to the propriety of the Whigs of North Carolina sending delegates to the Whig National Convention to meet at Harrisburg, we thought it inexpendient to do so. On reflection, however, we are of opinion that *it should be done*. The very decided preference manifested in favor of Mr. Clay, by our party in this state, enjoins upon us the necessity of so providing, that we may not be called on to give our votes to a less acceptable candidate: especially to one from a non-slaveholding state. Without the Whig voice of North Carolina, in the proposed Convention, it might be that Mr. Clay would not receive the nomination. We doubt exceedingly, whether any other of those spoken of as the Whig candidates, can receive the vote of this state. That Mr. Clay can, we are as well assured as we ever were of any thing belonging to the future. We can send delegates to this convention with limited powers. We can give them instructions not to give or take—not to bargain or chaffer in the matter, but simply to declare the determination of the Whigs of North Carolina to vote for Henry Clay, and no one else. We are unwilling to be ecommitted to any one else in any event, and we do not mean to be.

Such a participalion in the proposed measure, would have nothing of the offensive aspect of *caucussing*, and might the means of preventing the vote of the State from being thrown away.

From the Newbren Spectator.

To-day we formally unfurl the CLAY BANNER, and spread it to the breeze of patriotism, with the sincerest wish that it may wave in triumph in 1840. This wish emanates far less from our respect for the high honour and great abilities of the man, deep as that is, than from a firm conviction that the condition of the country would be improved, her interests promoted, her character restored and sustained, by the wise and virtuous administration of one so experienced, so capable, so trustworthy.

We take this step with the fullest assurance that we accord with the wishes of the Whigs of North Carolina, who will to a man support Mr. CLAY; but were it otherwise, we would make the same public expression of our preference, as every honest citizen should. Papers in other quarters that have placed the name of Mr. CLAY at the head of their columns, have generally a proviso depending on the desision of the Harrisburg Convention. We make no such proviso. Among the candidates named CLAY is decidedly our favorite, and if any other be nominated by the Convention, we shall deeply regret it; the whole Whig party of the South, or we greatly err in our judgment of the evidences around us—will experience a disappointment. We hope that our contemporaries in the state will speak out once more on this subject. Justice, both to the people of the South and to the admitted claims of Mr. Clay, demands an open expression of public opinion, nor should our delegates to the Convention be left in doubt respecting the wishes of the people on this important point.

The Petersburg Intelligencer expresses its cordial approbation of the views of the Carolina Watchman on the subject of the nomination of a candidate for the Presidency; and on introducing them to its readers, the editor observes: "We have declared our determination to support Mr. Clay, and we intend to abide by it. Among those who are spoken of as candidates he is the only one whom we could cordially support. In the language of Mr. Preston, "to him and to no other man must our banner be entrusted, if we would see it gloriously floating aloft, in proud and triumphant victory."

Executive Council.—The Governor has notified his Council, to convene in this city on the 15th of April, to advise with him as to the appointment of a Public Treasurer, *vice* D. W. Courts, esq. appointed Consul to Mantanzas.

Raleigh Register.

The Distribution of the Surplus.—Our readers will remember, that, at the first session of the Congress which has just expired, a law was passed, on the suggestion of the Treasury, postponing the payment to the states of the *fourth instalment of the surplus* until 1st January, 1839.

Inasmuch as no law was passed at the recent session prolonging the period of postponement, the payment is now due and demandable by the states; and the original appropriation being from any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, we do not see but that the Treasury *must*, in obedience to law, make the distribution, or confess to empty boxes. *N. Y. American.*

Gold Mines.—We are pleased to learn by a gentleman from Charlotte, that the Gold Mines in Mecklenburg county, are now in more successful and profitable operation than for some length of time past. *Western Car.*

Morality in Tennessee.—This comparatively young member of the Union has set an example for many of her older sister states, which does her citizens high honour, and which it would be well for all to follow. No other state has gone so far, by legislation, in measures to countervail the predominant relaxation of national morality, or to curb and punish the commission of the prevailing evils of the times. For this she deserves, and from all good citizens receives, the gratitude and applause due to her noble efforts in behalf of law and order. By the wisdom of her Legislators, and in accordance with the will of her citizens, the sale of ardent spirits is entirely prohibited in taverns and shops. She has suppressed, by law, the practice of duelling, of carrying bowie knives, dirks, &c.; and so far are public opinion and law hostile to every species of gambling, that the printer who publishes a lottery scheme within her borders, even if sent from another state, and paid for, is liable to punishment. This is all right. May North Carolina soon follow her example, and aid in the noble work which Tennessee has commenced.

Newbren Spectator.

Deadly Weapons.—The Legislature of Alabama has just enacted a law against the detestable practice of carrying deadly weapons about the person. It provides that "if any person shall carry, concealed about his person, any species of fire-arms, or any bowie knife, Arkansas tooth pick, or any other knife of the like kind, dirk, or any other deadly weapon, the person so offending shall, on conviction thereof before any court having competent jurisdiction, pay a fine of not less than fifty nor more than five hundred dollars, to be assessed by the jury trying the case; and be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three months, at the discretion of the judge of said court."

We are surprised at the Standard for his unqualified *endorsements* for doctor Duncan! To denounce, in such strong and bitter terms, the whig party, for their alleged "league" with abolitionists—and then take up the gauntlet for the avowed author of the rankest abolition sentiments ever uttered, is astonishing! If this is not "party madness," we don't know what is. Quere—Does the Standard go for his doctorship "in the abstract?" or, does he go in for the unsophisticated animal as he stands?

Greensborough Patriot.

New York, March 12.

Seneca Indians.—Seven chiefs of their tribe headed by a venerable old warrior "Blacksmith," successor to Red Jacket, arrived in this city yesterday from Washington, and were received by his Honor the Mayor in the Governors's room at 12 o'clock. The Mayor was addressed by a chief named Jamieson in the Indian tongue, which was interpreted into flowing English by the interpreter, a graduate from Yale College. They stated that the object of their visit to Washington had been to urge upon the President, with whom they had an interview, the impropriety of driving them from their lands (such a proposition having been made by a Senator from this state.) They produced documents signed by General Washington, guaranteeing protection to them and rights. Also papers signed by Governor Clinton and other Governors to the same effect. They iterated protestations of friendship for their white brethren, but spoke pretty positively about not leaving their old hunting grounds.

They Mayor made a suitable reply, and after partaking of some refreshments, they retired to their lodgings at the Western Hotel in Cortlandt street. *Courier.*

Important Law Decision.—About a year since, Judge McKinley decided, in the Circuit Court of the United States at Mobile, that a corporation created by one state could not institute a suit in its corporate capacity in another state. The question was taken up to the Supreme Court at Washington City, and has just been decided by that tribunal. The decision made is,—that a corporation created by one of the states can do in any other state such acts as the members of such corporation, in their individual capacity, have an undoubted right to do.

The parties in the question involved were,—*The Bank of the United States, appellant, vs. Wm. D. Primrose.*

Proposed Ship Canal across the Isthmus of Panama.—The following resolution, accompanied by a report, and voluminous appendix, interspersed with sundry maps and diagrams, was presented to the House of Representatives, from the committee on Roads and Canals, by Mr. Mercer, on Saturday, 2d instant. The resolution was adopted by the House, and the report, &c. ordered to be printed.

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to consider the expediency of opening or continuing negotiations with the Governments of other nations, and particularly with those, the territorial jurisdiction of which comprehend the Isthmus that connects North and South America, and to which the United States have accredited ministers or agents; for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of opening a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, by the construction of a Ship Canal across the Isthmus; and of securing for ever, by suitable treaty stipulations, the free and equal right of navigating such Canal to all nations, on the payment of reasonable tolls.

Rights of Ladies.—A bill has been introduced into the Legislature of Mississippi, designed to protect the rights of females by securing to them the enjoyment of the property which they may possess at the time of their marriage.

THE WHIG.

The following shows what Dr. Franklin's idea of a Whig were; and we feel proud in the belief that most in our ranks are the personification of what is so beautifully expressed as the characteristic of the patriots of his day.

"The Whig lives in every state, but wishes to live only in a free state. He claims no right in himself, but what he is willing to give his neighbor. He is not listed in sects by bonds, nor kept in them by prejudice; his mind is not contracted by systems, nor sacred bigots; 'tis open to God and nature; he is not attached to persons or factions, but to things of justice, to liberty, to virtue, and his country. He adheres to men who adhere to those. With like contempt of promise and menace, unawed by power, he is attached to those. Not lurking like a drone to reap what others sow, he cheerfully acts his part in society; he does all he can; he endeavors within his sphere to promote the general welfare. No matter what you call him, what his profession or the title of his religion. This is a Whig."

Important Decision for Publishers of Newspapers.—Judge Tompson, of Indiana, at a late setting of the Circuit Court, at which he presided, gave the following decision in a case where a subscriber to a newspaper refused to take the paper out of the post office without complying with the terms of the publisher:

"That if a subscriber to a periodical failed to notify the editor to discontinue the paper at the end of the term subscribed for, or pay up the arrearages, he was bound for another year."

This settles a very important principle.

MARRIED,

In this county, on Thursday the 14th ultimo, by the Rev. Thomas Lynch, Mr. WILLIAM MORROW, jr. to Miss FRANCES ARMSTRONG, daughter of Mr. Thomas Armstrong, deceased.

On Monday, the 4th instant, by Saml. N. Tate, esq. Mr. CHRISTIAN WHITSELL to Miss MARY RILEY.

On Little River, in this county, on Thursday the 7th inst. by J. J. Freeland, esq. Mr. WILLIAM EDWARDS to Miss ELZA ANN COLLINS.

In this county, on the 7th instant, Mr. ISAAC RHEW, aged 75 years, to Miss MARY HAUGHTON, aged 19.

Weekly Almanac.

MARCH.	Sun rises	Sun sets.	MOON'S PHASES.
21 Thursday,	6 0	6 0	
22 Friday,	5 58	6 2	
23 Saturday,	5 57	6 3	
24 Sunday,	5 56	6 4	
25 Monday,	5 55	6 5	
26 Tuesday,	5 54	6 6	
27 Wednesday	5 53	6 7	

MOON'S PHASES. D. H. M.
Last 8 8 18 morn
New 15 8 06 morn
First 22 9 14 morn
Full 29 0 1 after

FRENCH'S
Bolingbrook Hotel,
PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

DANIEL S. FRENCH, late of French's Hotel, Norfolk, respectfully announces to the public that he has leased for a term of years that new, large and convenient public establishment in the town of Petersburg, Virginia, heretofore known as the Bolingbrook Hotel, but now distinguished as FRENCH'S HOTEL, and has been, since the 1st of January, engaged in refitting, refurnishing, painting, whitewashing, and otherwise improving the same, in a style which will make the establishment, for both comfort and elegance, vie with any other in the Union.

To the BED ROOMS, that rigid attention has been paid so necessary to the comfort of the transient and permanent lodger.

The TABLE, in addition to every substantial dish usual to be had in a large hotel, will, also, be regularly supplied with Wild Game, Oysters and Fish of the best the Norfolk and other markets afford. ☞ Country Customers may rely upon never being disappointed in these respects.

The STABLES are new, convenient, and well supplied with Hay, Oats, Corn and Fodder. The Ostlers are of the best character and best qualifications.

The Dining Room, Bar Room, and other Servants of the House, will be found well versed in their several duties, and ever ready to discharge them with alacrity and cheerfulness.

The BAR will be kept constantly furnished with the best WINES, LIQUORS, PORTER, &c., all selected by WM. FRENCH, esq. of French's Hotel, Norfolk, whose long experience and excellent judgment are well known throughout the United States.

DANIEL S. FRENCH, will, on his own part, spare no exertion to give satisfaction to those who may favor him with their patronage.

Petersburg, Va. March 5, 1839. 69—

For Sale,

A LIKELY YOUNG NEGRO GIRL, now in the possession of Robert Pleasants, Hillsborough.

GILES MEBANE.

March 25. 69tf—

Fresh Garden Seeds.

A SMALL supply of Fresh Garden Seeds, just received, and for sale by

A. PARKS.

March 14. 61—

GOELICK'S

Matchless Sanative.

THIS invaluable Medicine, which has performed astonishing cures in the Consumption, and other diseases of the liver, is kept constantly for sale by the subscriber, at Hartshorn Post Office, Orange county.

HENRY FOGLEMAN.

March 13. 61—tf

Attention!

THE Hillsborough Company of Militia are hereby ordered to attend at the court house, on Saturday the 13th of April next, at 11 o'clock, for drill muster and court martial.

By order of the Captain,

CHARLES S. WARREN, c. s.

March 4. 60—

Trust Sale.

BY virtue of a deed of trust, executed by William E. Anderson, I shall offer for sale Philis, A NEGRO WOMAN, at the store of Samuel N. Tate, on the 13th instant.

JAMES WEBB, *Trustee.*

March 1. 59—3w

Job Printing,

NEATLY & EXPEDITIOUSLY EXECUTED AT THIS OFFICE.

Whig Conv. Harrisburg

From the American Museum.

THE HILLS, THE SEA, THE SKY.

BY JOHN HICKMAN, JR.

O, what a throbbing joy to tread
The everlasting hills,
And drink unbroken melody
From dashing chrystal rills!
To follow in the hind's rough track,
And watch the eagle's flight
As, mounting on his pinion strong,
He soars to realms of light!

O, what a pomp to ride the waves,
And court the tempest's play,
When flashing in the morning sun,
Up darts the feathery spray;
With varying colors, softly touch'd,
Most gorgeously inwoven,
Displaying to the raptured sight
The rain bow hues of heaven.

O, what a holy charm to scan
The meteor-kindling sky,
And mercy in the azure vault
The all-pervading eye!
To think of worlds untold, unseen
As caves 'neath ocean's flood,
And force the rebel heart to praise
The mighty power of God!

[BY REQUEST.]

THE MISSIONARY'S FAREWELL.

Hail! brightest, dearest tie that binds
Our glowing hearts in one;
Hail! sacred hope, that tunes our minds
To harmony divine.
It is the hope, the blessed hope,
Which Jesus's blood has given,
The hope, when days and years are past,
We all shall meet in heaven;
We all shall meet in heaven at last,
We all shall meet in heaven;
The hope, when days and years are past,
We all shall meet in heaven.

What though the Northern wintry blast
Shall howl around thy cot,
What though beneath an Eastern sun
Be cast our destined lot;
It is the hope, the blessed hope, &c.

From Burmah's shore, from Afric's strand,
From India's burning plane,
From Europe and Columbia's land,
We all shall meet again.
O, blessed hope, O, glorious hope, &c.

No lingering look, no parting sigh,
Our future meeting knows;
Here friendship beams in every eye,
And hope immortal grows.
O, blessed hope, O, glorious hope, &c.

From the Works of the Rev. C. Williams.

THE SEAS's BOTTOM.

The bottom of the basin of the sea seems to have inequalities like those of the surface of the continents. Were it dried up, it would present valleys and plains. It is covered almost throughout by an immense quantity of testaceous animals, or those which have shells, intermixed with sand and grain. The bottom of the Adriatic Sea is composed of a compact bed of shells, several hundred feet in thickness. A celebrated diver, employed to descend into the Strait of Messina, saw there, with horror, enormous polypi attached to the rocks, the arms of which, being several feet long, were more than sufficient to strangle a man. In many seas, the eye perceives nothing but a bright, sandy, plain bottom, extending for several hundred miles without an intervening object. But in others, particularly in the Red Sea, it is very different; the whole body of this extensive bed of water is, literally speaking, a forest of sub-marine plants and corals, formed by insects for their habitation, sometimes branching out to a great extent. Here are seen the madrepores, sponges, mosses, sea mushrooms, and various other things, covering every bottom. The bed of many parts of the sea near America, presents a very different, though a very beautiful appearance. This is covered with vegetables, which make it look as green as a meadow; and beneath are thousands of turtle and other sea animals feeding thereon. There are some places of the sea where no bottom has yet been found; still, it is not bottomless. The mountains of continents seem to correspond with what are called the abysses of the sea. The highest mountains do not rise above 25,000 feet; and, allowing for the effects of the elements, some suppose that the sea is not beyond 36,000 feet in depth. Lord Mulgrave used in the Northern Ocean a very heavy sounding lead, and gave out along with it cable rope to the length of 4,686 feet, without finding the bottom. But the greatest depth hitherto sounded was by Capt. Scoresby, who, in the Greenland seas, could find no bottom with 1,208 fathoms, or 7,200 feet of line. According to Laplace, its mean depth is about two miles, which, supposing the generally received estimates to be correct as to the proportion the extent of the water bears to the dry land on the earth's surface, would make about two hundred and eighty billions of cubic feet of water.

CAN YOU CYPHER?

Suppose a man, fond of noise and fun, to burn twelve and a half cents worth of powder every day, how much will he destroy in a year? Answer, $45 50. How much in forty years? Answer, $1,820. And suppose he spends one hour in burning it, and that that hour be worth twelve and a half cents, how much will this item be worth in forty years? Answer, $1,820 more. Three thousand six hundred and forty dollars, gone for gunpowder and fun!

Suppose, instead of paying the money for that powder, he had saved it, and instead of wasting that hour daily he had earned twelve and a half cents, and put both on interest: at simple and compound interest what would have been the amount in forty years? Answer, $14,117 44! Fourteen thousand one hundred and seventeen dollars and forty-four cents! Enough to purchase a farm of three hundred and twenty acres, at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre; and build on it a house worth two thousand dollars; a barn worth one thousand dollars; dig a well worth one hundred dollars; buy furniture worth eight hundred and seventeen dollars forty-four cents; farming utensils worth one thousand dollars; ten horses worth one hundred dollars each; ten yoke of oxen, each yoke worth one hundred dollars; forty cows worth twenty-five dollars each; one thousand sheep worth three dollars each; eighty hogs worth ten dollars each; and enough left to educate two sons at college, giving them one thousand dollars each! Enough to make a farmer somewhat independent in these hard times.

Now what is the difference between wasting twelve and a half cents and one hour a day for powder and fun, and wasting the same money and time for intoxicating drink?

Can't you cypher? The man who spends his twelve and a half cents for grog, and his twelve and a half cents worth of time daily, loses in forty years that fine farm with all its valuables. He loses all his comfort. For you might just as well endeavor to comfort a man under a burning fever with baked pork and beans, as administer comfort with tomjerry, hot punch, or any other abominable broth. He loses his character. Who respects the grog bruiser? He loses his health often, and usually his reason, and in the end is lost himself.

Now, if you can cypher, try and estimate his loss.

Prospectus of the Second Volume
OF THE
American Museum
OF
Literature and the Arts.

A Monthly Magazine, embellished with Steel Portraits.

ON the 1st of January, 1839, was commenced the second volume of the American Museum of Literature and the Arts. This Magazine is a depository of papers in the various departments of Literature, Science, and the Arts, calculated alike to instruct, profit, and please the reader. As utility is the characteristic of the age, the Museum contains articles of solid interest upon Science, Literature, History, Biography, and Morals. Reviews and literary criticisms, so important in this publishing age, occupy a prominent place in the work. It also contains short reviews of the entire works of distinguished American authors, accompanied by portraits engraved on steel.

The solidity of the work is relieved by lighter articles—such as graceful essays, interesting and amusing tales, criticisms upon the fine arts, legends, sketches of travel, literary and scientific intelligence, and poetry of a superior order.

The very favorable reception which the work has met from the press and the public, has justified the proprietors in making liberal arrangements for contributions to the second volume; and they have accordingly made large additions to their corps of regular contributors. In the January number will be found original papers from the following popular writers—

Rev. Dr Beasley, Rev. J. G. Morris, Rev. J H. Clinch, David Hoffman, esq. W. G. Simms, Charles West Thompson, T. R. Holland, H. F. Tuckerman, E. A. Poe Professor Fisher of the University of Maryland, Professor Foreman, W. B. Tappan, Mrs Sigourney, Miss H. F. Gould, Mrs. Emma C. Embury. Besides these, many other writers of known ability have contributed to the work, and will continue to aid us.

In this number is the commencement of a series of "Italian Sketches," by a gentleman of taste and scholarship who has been sojourning in that classic country. Besides these, the future numbers of the Museum will contain articles from distinguished European writers,—although we are far more anxious to receive assistance from, and encourage, native talent.

PLATES.—Portraits on steel, by a distinguished artist, similar to that of Washington Irving in the September number, and of J. F. Cooper in the January number, will continue to embellish the work.

TERMS.—The American Museum is printed on good paper, with new type, and makes two volumes a year, of more than 500 pages each. Price $5 per annum, payable in advance. Four copies will be sent one year for $15. We shall be happy to receive applications, *post paid*, for travelling and local agencies, with references enclosed. All communications must be *post paid*, and directed to the editors.

Travelling Agents greatly needed.

BROOKS & SNODGRASS,
Editors and Proprietors.

Baltimore, January, 1832. 61—

Sale of Negroes.

THE subscriber having been duly qualified as the administrator *de bonis non*, with the will annexed, of John Fann, deceased, will, in pursuance of the provisions of said will, offer for sale, at public auction, at Chapel Hill, on Thursday the 28th day of this present month,

Thirty-one Valuable Negroes,

Men, Women, and Children. The sale will be continued until all are sold. The terms are, six months credit, purchasers giving bond and good security.

N. J. KING, *Adm'r. &c.*

March 1. 59—

Look at This.

THE Printing Establishment of the Milton Spectator is offered for sale on accommodating terms. To a practical printer, with a small family, the situation is a very desirable one. Professional and other engagements, demanding at present the whole of my time, alone prevent me from again assuming the Editorial chair, which, with some exceptions, has been to me a source of pleasure and profit. There is, perhaps, no village in the state that holds out better inducements for an establishment of the kind.

N. J. PALMER.

Milton, N. C. Jan. 21. 58—

Trust Sale.

BY virtue of a deed of trust, executed by William E. Anderson, I shall offer for sale Philis, A NEGRO WOMAN, at the store of Samuel N. Tate, on the 18th instant.

JAMES WEBB, *Trustee.*

March 1. 59—2w

WANTED,

A FIRST rate Journeyman Cabinet Maker, to whom constant employment and good wages will be given.

Apply to the subscriber, living six miles north of M'Cuistin, Trolinger & Co.'s Cotton Factory.

WILLEY MURRAY.

February 20. 58—

HILLSBOROUGH
Female Academy.

THE undersigned Trustees of the Hillsborough Female Academy, have the pleasure to announce to Parents and Guardians, that the exercises of this institution commenced on the 24th January, for the present session, under the charge of its efficient and accomplished principal, Miss Maria L. Spear. The services of this lady for several years past, have been such as to meet the highest expectations of the Trustees, and to deserve for this Academy as great a portion of public patronage as has been extended to any similar institution in the state.

Miss Spear has associated with herself in the task of instruction, her sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, whose talents and skill in the departments of Music, Drawing and Painting have been fully tested and are of the highest order.

A gentleman who is a native of France and every way qualified, will give lessons in the French Language to such as may desire it.

The Trustees can with confidence recommend this Seminary to all who wish their daughters and wards to become scholars, and to have their morals anxiously guarded and their manners properly formed; the personal accomplishments and moral culture of the students being no less objects of attention on the part of the Teachers, than their improvement in Literature.

The studies of each class are as follows, viz: Spelling, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, History, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Mythology, Botany, Rhetoric, Astronomy, Dictation and Composition, constitute the studies of the first and second classes; the same branches of learning, with the exception of the five last named, form the studies of the third class; and the fourth class, which is the lowest in the school, study Spelling, Reading, Writing, and the Tables in Arithmetic, as the progress of the scholar justifies.

TERMS OF TUITION.

First Class,	$17 00
Second Class,	15 00
Third Class,	15 00
Fourth Class,	12 50
Music, on the Piano or Guitar,	$25 00
Drawing and Painting,	12 00
French,	15 00
Working on Canvass,	5 00
Working on Muslin,	3 00

JAMES S. SMITH,
WILLIAM CAIN,
CAD. JONES, Sen'r.,
P. H. MANGUM,
HUGH WADDELL,
NATHAN HOOKER,
STEPHEN MOORE,
TRUSTEES.

The Raleigh Register will insert four weeks.

February 13. 57—

JOURNAL
OF THE
American Silk Society,
AND
RURAL ECONOMIST.

AT a Convention which met at Baltimore on the 11th of December last, composed of a great number of gentlemen from various parts of the Union, distinguished for their public services, patriotism, and practical intelligence, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, after full discussion, in the course of which a great mass of facts and valuable information was elicited.

Resolved, That it is the deliberate opinion of this Convention, that Silk may be grown in all the United States, not only for domestic purposes, but as a valuable article of *commercial export*—thereby giving an active employment to American labor, and retaining millions of dollars in our country, that are annually sent out of it for the purchase of silken goods.

Resolved, That a National Silk Journal ought to be established under the auspices of the Executive Committee, and all the funds over and above the support of said paper ought to be devoted to the advancement of the Silk cause in the United States.

Under the latter resolution the subscribe has been solicited to assume the editorial superintendence of the Journal to be published by the Society. And now, with not the least abatement of that fondness (not to say passion) for rural life, and all its pursuits, which prompted him eighteen years since to issue the first number of the old American Farmer, he is but too happy to salute once more his old friends and correspondents, promising to deserve new ones by the most assiduous endeavors (not incompatible with strict attention to his official duties,) to accelerate the growth and progress of what he is convinced is destined to become a great branch of national industry, bringing into active exercise much of the now unproductive laboring power of the country, giving comfort to the widow and the orphan, by offering them suitable and remunerating employment; and making, in the aggregate, a large addition to the wealth and prosperity of our beloved Union.

Though Silk, and every thing connected with its production, and all improvements in machinery for its preparation and manufacture, will constitute the *chief design and aim* of the Journal, for the sake of agreeable and useful variety, a considerable portion of its pages will be dedicated to the justly popular and kindred subjects of *Agriculture*, *Horticulture*, and *Rural* and *Domestic Economy*. Hence the adjunctive title "Rural Economist."

J. S. SKINNER.

The Journal of the American Silk Society will be published monthly, in pamphlet form. Each number will contain thirty two pages, printed on new type and handsome paper, with a printed colored cover.

All persons friendly to the objects of the Journal, will please collect at once and transmit the subscription money of those who may feel disposed to patronize it.

TERMS.

Two dollars a year, or six copies for ten dollars, always to be paid before the work is sent. All subscriptions to begin with the first number of the year, and in no case will the work be sent to any subscriber longer than it shall have been paid for.

All communications to be addressed, post paid, to GIDEON B. SMITH, Corresponding Secretary to the Society.

All Editors of papers who may desire to see Silk added to the list of American Staples, and who will have the kindness to give this prospectus a few insertions, will be entitled to a copy of the Journal.

February, 1839. 53—

ORANGE HOTEL.
Hillsborough, N. C.

THE subscriber would respectfully inform the public, that this large and commodious establishment, situated on the street leading directly west from the Court House, is now open for the reception of Travellers and Regular Boarders. Having erected this building especially for a Hotel, no expense or pains will be spared to give it character abroad; his customers may therefore rest assured that his accommodations will be good.

☞ Families desirous of spending some time in the place, may find comfortable accommodations at the Orange Hotel.

ISAIAH H. SPENCER.

October 17. 41tf—

Education.

THE subscriber has procured the service of the Rev. J. W. YORK, in his school, located five miles east of Hillsborough, in a private, healthy section of country.

The following branches will be taught: Spelling, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, and Book Keeping.

Board and Tuition will not exceed thirty six dollars per session of five months. School will commence on the 15th instant; Students can enter at any time during the session.

THOMAS W. HOLDEN.

January 12. 43—

BETHMONT
Female Academy.

THE exercises of this institution, (twelve miles south west from Hillsborough,) will commence on the first day of February, and will continue without intermission for two sessions; the vacation will be given in the months of December and January. The price of tuition is eight dollars a session; Drawing and Painting five dollars extra. The increase of this school is a sufficient evidence of the general satisfaction which Mrs Morrow has given in the managent of her school; and we hesitate not to say, that those who wish to give their daughters a liberal education would do well to confide them to her care.

Board, five dollars a month.

THOS. D. OLDHAM,
JAMES THOMPSON,
ELIJAH PICKARD.

December 22. 51—

Mantua Making.

THE subscriber having located herself in Hillsborough, respectfully informs the ladies of this place and its vicinity, that she is prepared to execute any kind of work in her line in the latest and most fashionable style. Her residence is at the Union Hotel.

ANN JOHNSON.

February 6. 56

Notice.

ALL persons indebted to the late firm of LATIMER & MEBANE, or to JAMES MEBANE, Jr. are requested to call on the subscriber and make immediate settlement; otherwise their accounts will be put into the hands of an officer for collection. Longer indulgence cannot be given.

JAMES MEBANE, Jr.

January 23. 54—

CHINA,
Glass & Queensware.

JAMES A. TAYLOR,
No. 79, Water Street,

BEGS respectfully to inform his friends and Merchants generally, in Virginia and North Carolina, that he is now receiving an entirely new Stock of Goods in the above line expressly adapted to the Southern trade. Every description of Rich CHINA in sets, and CUT GLASS, together with a complete assortment of Common and QUEENSWARE and STONE WARE, constantly on hand, and will be offered on as good terms as they can be procured in the United States.

Liberal credit will be given when required. Goods will be carefully packed by experienced hands. Orders by letter, promptly attended to, and faithfully executed. The patronage of his old friends, and the Mercantile Community generally, in Virginia and North Carolina, is requested.

New York, January 8. 54—

House and Lot
For Sale---in Hillsborough.

THE subscriber finding it necessary, on account of the location of his business, to remove his family to Chapel Hill, wishes to sell the House and Lot which he now occupies, formerly known as Simpson's Lot. The lot is situated on Churton or Main street, near the Presbyterian Church; is very convenient to the market and business part of the town, and yet sufficiently private to answer well the purposes of a private family. It contains near an acre of ground, and has on it a large two story framed Dwelling, good Kitchen, Smoke-House, and other out houses, all of which are comparatively new, having been built by Mr. Simpson within a few years, and occupied by him as a summer residence. The dwelling house has four rooms with a good fire place in each; and two more rooms may be added with very little expense. The garden which is very nice, is almost entirely level, and free from stones. Possession may be had at any time, on a very few days notice. For terms apply to Mr. James Phillips of this place, or to the subscriber.

JAMES C. HOLLAND.

December 4. 48—

NOTICE.

THE subscriber having, at the February term of Orange County Court, 1839, been qualified as Administrator on the Estate of JOHN THOMPSON, deceased, hereby gives notice to all persons indebted to the said estate to come forward and produce their accounts duly authenticated, as required by law, or this notice will be plead in bar of their recovery; and all persons indebted to the said estate are hereby requested to come forward and make payment, as no longer indulgence can be given.

W. H. THOMPSON, *Adm'r.*

February 26. 59—

Strays.

TAKEN up by John C. Douglas, living on the Oxford Road, about seven miles from Hillsborough, and entered on the Stray Book of Orange county on the 9th inst. one SOW and five SHOATS, marked as follows, viz. one spotted Sow, with a slit in each ear, one Shoat marked with a crop and under bit in the right ear and over bit in the left, and four Shoats unmarked—valued at eight dollars.

JOHN A. FAUCETT, *Ranger.*

February 13. 57—3w

PROSPECTUS
OF THE
Hillsborough Recorder,
ENLARGED.

TO THE PUBLIC.

After some unexpected delays, we have this week been enabled to present the Recorder to its readers upon an enlarged sheet. This has emphatically been called the age of improvement; but in all the multiplied forms in which this spirit has manifested itself during the last twenty years, perhaps in none is it more perceptible than in the appearance of the public press. The newspapers of our villages now, surpass in size and neatness those formerly issued from our largest cities. It has long been our desire that the Recorder should reflect a portion of this spirit of the age: and an effort to accomplish this desire, we felt was due to that portion of our friends who have continued to sustain us through good and through evil report. This enlargement of our sheet necessarily involves a considerable additional expense; but we are mistaken in the people of Orange, if we may not safely throw ourselves upon their generosity, and with confidence hope that they will duly appreciate the benefits of a free and honest press, and extend to it such a portion of patronage as will, in some degree at least, compensate the care and toil and expense necessary to sustain it.

It is now more than eighteen years since we commenced our establishment at this place, during which time we have had many difficulties to encounter. The storms of political strife engender many prejudices which it is sometimes vain to attempt to allay; and the zeal of popular enthusiasm creates preferences which yield nothing to honesty of purpose. These things tend greatly to depress a village newspaper, the prosperity of which depends almost solely on the patronage of the county in which it is published; and we ought not, perhaps, to expect entirely to escape their influence. But we have had more potent adversaries than these. It is said of the church of Rome, that she withholds the Bible from the common people, that they may not, through ignorance of the true meaning, be led into heresies; the priests only are to read and interpret for them. So it is with some of our self-styled Republicans: they are afraid to trust the people, and if it was in their power, they would entirely prohibit the circulation of all papers which do not perfectly square with their notions. Not able to contend openly for their doctrines, they would suppress all inquiry. And this is the spirit which has been operating for several years to undermine the circulation of the Recorder, and if possible to break up the establishment. At one time this was very nigh being accomplished; we were reduced almost to the last extremity; the star of our hope had sunk almost to the very horizon. But amid all this darkness, we were sustained by a consciousness of the integrity of our purpose and the justness of our cause: and perseverance has enabled us to witness the return of a brighter day. Our star of hope is now again in the ascendant; and we trust that under its enlivening influence we shall be permitted long to battle for truth and sound principles, with our flag nailed to the mast—"UNION, THE CONSTITUTION, AND THE LAWS."

Our enlarged sheet will enable us to embrace a greater variety of matter than heretofore; and we shall endeavor to gratify the various tastes of our readers, by placing before them every good thing we can select from our exchange papers and other periodicals, whether of Morality, Literature, or Politics. In all our selections our object will be, to blend instruction with amusement, to inform the judgment, elevate the mind, and mend the heart. In political matters, we shall nothing extenuate through favor, nor set down ought in malice, but on all occasions shall endeavor to give "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

Having fewer advertisements, our paper in its enlarged form will perhaps contain as much reading matter as any other paper in the state. We shall endeavor always to procure good paper, and to make the impression fair and legible. When these things are considered, with the fact that the whole contents of the paper will be selected expressly for the people of this section of county, we hope those who have been in the habit of sending abroad for their papers, may be induced to bestow their patronage upon their own press, and thereby build up an establishment respectable in its appearance and useful in its operation.

To those of our friends who coincide with us in opinion, we might make an appeal, urging upon them the expediency of exerting their influence to extend the circulation of our paper; but we deem it unnecessary. They surely have discernment enough to know, that before their principles can triumph, light must be spread among the people.

We would also remind those of opposite politics, that the columns of the Recorder are always open to respectful and decent communications, as well from their party as our own, and that we shall endeavor on all occasions to give an impartial and faithful account of the transactions of the day. And further, when any important measure shall come before Congress, upon which we may think the public mind requires to be enlightened, we shall consider it a duty always to give speeches on both sides of the question.

With these brief remarks we submit our cause to the people of Orange, and trust that they will mete out to us a due portion of liberality.

Hillsborough, N. C., May 7, 1838.

FARMER'S HOTEL.

Mr. Richison Nichols

HAS taken charge of this well known establishment, and is prepared to accommodate travellers in a comfortable manner.

☞ Stage passengers will find it very convenient, as it is directly opposite the Post Office.

Regular Boarders will be received on accommodating terms.

August 15. 32—

Boarding House.

A FEW regular Boarders can be accommodated by the subscriber, at the old stand of John Faddis, deceased.

Persons desiring it can also be accommodated during Court week.

THOMAS D. CRAIN.

February 15. 08—

Wheat and Flour.

THE subscriber continues to keep on hand a full supply of Family Flour, by the barrel or load. The highest price given for Wheat, at his mill.

THOMAS W. HOLDEN.

January 12. 53—

MRS. VASSEUR

HAS just received, in addition to her former assortment of

CONFECTIONARIES,

a fresh supply of the following articles, viz.

A FULL ASSORTMENT OF

CANDIES,

Raisins,	Currants,
Oranges,	Almonds,
Lemons,	Walnuts,
Apples,	Brazil Nuts,
Figs,	Filberts,
Prunes,	Cheese,

and a variety of SEGARS.

The Fruit and Nuts are of the first of excellent quality.

December 6.

SPRING GOODS.

O. F. LONG & Co.

HAVE just received, and now offer for sale at their old stand, their Spring Supply, consisting of every variety of Goods usually kept by the merchants of this place, viz.

A Large and General Assortment of

Dry Goods, &c.

COMPRISING

CLOTHS, CASSIMERES,
Satinets,

FRENCH, ENGLISH AND AMERICAN

PRINTS,

PRINTED LAWNS & MUSLINS,

Black & Coloured Silks,

&c. &c. &c. &c.

ALSO

Hardware and Cutlery,
Shot Guns,
Hats, and Shoes,
Bonnets,
Crockery,
Cotton Yarn,
School Books, Stationary, &c.

All of which they will sell at the lowest prices for Cash, or on a short credit to punctual dealers only.

May 8. 18—

Ladies' Shoes.

THE subscribers have just received a fresh assortment of Ladies Shoes and Slippers, of the best Philadelphia manufacture.

O. F. LONG, & Co.

July 12 28—

O. F. Long, & Co., have also on hand,

50 Sacks of Salt,
20 Boxes Hull's Patent Candles,
3 Boxes Sperm Candles, &c.,

all of which they will sell on the best terms.

July 12 21—

Forwarding Agency.

☞ THE subscribers inform the Merchants of the interior, that they are still engaged in the Forwarding way, and that with the facilities and experience they possess in the transaction of this business, a continuance of the patronage heretofore entrusted to them is solicited. They have large Ware Houses at the river and in town, for the reception of forwarding Goods, apart from their buildings and comparatively safe from fire.

WILKINGS & BELDEN.

Fayetteville

Refer to
Messrs. HAVE & HOLLAND, Hillsborough.

April 5 65—

WILLIAM W. GRAY'S
Invaluable OINTMENT,
FOR THE CURE OF
External Diseases, viz:

White Swellings, Scrofula and other Tumours, Sore Legs and Ulcers, Old and Fresh Wounds, Sprains and Bruises, Swellings and Inflamations, Scalds and Burns, Women's Sore Breasts, Scald Head, Rheumatic Pains, Chilblains, Tetters, Eruptions, Piles, Whitlows—and a most effectual remedy for the removal of Corns.

Also, Beckwith's Anti Dispeptic Pills.

FOR SALE BY

ALLEN PARIS

September 8.

HILLSBOROUGH, N. C.
PUBLISHED WEEKLY
BY DENNIS HEARTT,
AT THREE DOLLARS A YEAR, OR TWO DOLLARS FIFTY CENTS IF PAID IN ADVANCE.

Those who do not give notice of their wish to have their paper discontinued at the expiration of the year, will be presumed as requesting its continuance until countermanded.—No paper will be discontinued until all arrearages are paid, unless at the option of the publisher.

Advertisements not exceeding sixteen lines, one dollar for the first, and twenty five cents for each subsequent insertion; longer ones in proportion. Court advertisements twenty five per cent higher. A deduction of 33⅓ per cent. will be made to advertisers by the year.